

EXTRACTS FROM INTERROGATIONS OF ARAKI, Sadao

File 58 (7 February, pages 6-7, 9).

"Q. General, you ordered the extension of the Japanese occupation in Manchuria from the time you became Minister of War?

"A. After a policy has been decided by the government, orders for operations would be issued by the Chief of the General Staff. The War Minister has no right to issue orders in connection with operations. In other words, policies would be decided by the government and the carrying out of this policy would be effected by the General Staff, and the policy was to bring peace and order to territory under Chang Pseuh-liang.

"Q. Who decided that policy?

"A. The policy would be decided by the government.

"Q. By the government, General, do you mean the Cabinet or the War Ministry?

"A. The Cabinet.

"Q. At what time did the Cabinet decide on this policy?

"A. This was decided at the time it was decided to request an increase in expenditures.

"Q. What date?

"A. It was in December. I do not remember.

"Q. 1931?

"A. Yes.

"Q. While you were War Minister?

"A. Yes. Until this time there had been no fixed policy, and it was realized that the absence of policy would result in the spreading of hostilities. It had been decided that the three provinces comprising Chang Hsueh-liang's territory required pacification, but a statement by Chang Hsueh-liang to the effect that his jurisdiction extended over four territories expanded the scene of activities to Jehol. Chang Hsueh-liang was originally at Ching Chow. He later withdrew to Jehol from where he conducted his government.

"Q. Then, in December 1931 the Cabinet decided to pacify those four provinces under General Chang?

"A. Yes."

"Q. General, going back to your policy decided by the Cabinet in December 1931, were all the members of the Cabinet there when the decision was made?

"A. They were all there."

File 58 (8 February, pages 3, 4-5).

"Q. General, going back to the policy which we discussed yesterday, decided in December 1931, the policy to pacify the four provinces under General CHANG. Was that decided before December 17, 1931?

"A. It was after I became War Minister. I think was on the 13th.

"Q. Thirteenth?

"A. Before that there was no fixed policy.

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"Q. Was the policy decided before the 17th? Was it on December 17th?"

"A. I am not sure of the exact day, but I think it was around the 17th. The policy, the allocation of funds, was decided at the Privy Council meeting by that date.

"Q. General, as part of that policy, what was the plan, if diplomatic means failed in the pacification of the four provinces under General CHANG?"

"A. As War Minister, my duty was to settle this incident as quickly as possible. I would certainly advocate diplomatic negotiations, but actual hostilities were in progress. As I stated previously, Japan's diplomacy was at a low ebb at the time."

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"Q. Did the Cabinet agree that you should occupy those four provinces with the army?"

"A. Yes, and the soldiers would not have been able to move without a Cabinet approval, as appropriations would not have been available.

"Q. The Cabinet approval was a part of the policy decided on December 17th? Was that a part of the policy, the occupation by Japanese troops of the four provinces?"

"A. This is a very complicated matter and I am not able to say whether the Cabinet's approval was a part of the policy or not, but I would point out that the Prime Minister and all the other ministers gave their approval to this policy. Otherwise it could not have been carried out.

"Q. When did they give their approval?"

"A. The policy was actually decided at the Privy Council meeting at which all members were present and also representatives from the Cabinet and perhaps the Emperor.

"Q. Did the Emperor say anything at that meeting?"

"A. The Emperor is always present at an extra-ordinary meeting of the Privy Council.

"Q. Was the Emperor there then?"

"A. The Emperor was present, but he does not take part in the discussions.

"Q. General, were you there?

"A. The Cabinet was present in force.

"Q. That includes you?

"A. Yes. And all members of the Privy Council.

"Q. Do you know whether the Emperor approved of this policy?

"A. When the Privy Council has reached a unanimous decision, this is reported to the Emperor who gives his consent.

"Q. Is that a written consent?

"A. No, this is not a written consent. The desire of the Privy Council is conveyed by word of mouth to the Emperor. The Emperor actually says nothing at these meetings. After hearing the decision, he retires. If there are any written records, the Secretary of the Cabinet should have knowledge of them.

"Q. Do you know whether those records have been destroyed?

"A. I am not in the Cabinet now, and I do not know, but I imagine they have all been destroyed.

"Q. At what place were they usually kept?

"A. I do not know, but I suppose they would have been kept in the Secretary's office. Some documents were kept five years and others ten years and destroyed, and it is quite possible that many of them were destroyed in this way.

"Q. General, why was this an extra-ordinary session?

"A. It was really an emergency session, as expenditures were required which would ordinarily have to be passed by the Diet and the Diet was not in session at the time.

"Q. What expenditures were required?

"A. Expenditures for the pacification of the four provinces, comprising General Chang Hseuh-liang's territory. Matters at this time were very urgent and could be compared to a fire, conflagration.

There was no time for discussions or arguments about the types of pumps to be used and so forth. Another good illustration of the emergency measures is the gold embargo imposed by Finance Minister TAKAHASHI. This was done overnight after consultation with the Prime Minister."

(File 58, 11 February, pages 7-9)

"Q. We will bring you a copy of the translation. The conference we have been discussing is what is known as an Imperial Conference, is it not?

"A. Yes, it is called HON KAIGI. There usually is a preliminary meeting called CHINSA KAIGI, and if this preliminary meeting is satisfactory, an Imperial Conference is called.

"Q. Would you give me the approximate date of the preliminary meeting?

"A. I do not remember the exact date. It was between the 13th and 17th.

"Q. Who was present at that meeting?

"A. Certain members of the Privy Council are delegated to attend this preliminary meeting, and the cabinet ministers concerned are consulted. It can be taken for granted that anything decided at an Imperial Conference was decided upon previously at the preliminary meeting. If the preliminary conference did not approve, it would never go before the Imperial Conference.

"Q. You called the preliminary meeting did you not?

"A. No, this was called by the Privy Council.

"Q. What cabinet ministers were there?

"A. I do not remember but I think the War Minister, the Finance Minister and the Foreign Minister and perhaps the Navy Minister. Sometimes they appear in force, and other times they appear singly and I cannot state for certain.

"Q. Was it at your suggestion that the Privy Council called this meeting?

"A. It is not within the province of the War Minister to suggest that meetings be held by the Privy Council.

"Q. What was the purpose in the Privy Council calling this preliminary meeting?

"A. This was a request for special expenditures for the China Incident. The Prime Minister takes the request to the Emperor who in turn requests the Privy Council to discuss and pass on the advisability of granting these requests.

"Q. Does the Prime Minister do so at the request or unanimous consent of the cabinet?

"A.. If the Prime Minister decides, it is practically the same as the whole cabinet deciding.

"Q. But at this time, there was a cabinet meeting in which it was agreed?

"A. I do not remember that there was a cabinet meeting, but I do remember that I consulted the Prime Minister who was comparatively the Foreign Minister, the Finance Minister, and the Secretary of the Cabinet.

"Q. But the suggestion emanated from you?

"A. Yes.

"Q. At the preliminary meeting it was the unanimous agreement of all present that the appropriation should be made and that the four provinces under General CHANG should be pacified and occupied by Japanese troops, was it not?

"A. The main object of the preliminary meeting was the appropriation for the army. The policy of occupying and pacifying the four provinces followed as a matter of course but this was not stated as a definite policy.

"Q. It was discussed, was it not?

"A. This would have been discussed because unless this was supported to the satisfaction of all, the appropriation would not be granted.

"Q. It was the unanimous agreement of all present?

"A. It was the unanimous agreement of the Privy Council members present at the preliminary conference. And when the question is taken up in the Imperial Conference, the members who did not attend the preliminary council would be present and the matter would be discussed.

Members of the cabinet would also be present, and the decision would have to be unanimous.

"Q. What was your answer in the preliminary meeting to their questions on the violation of the Nine Power Treaty?

"A. I do not think this matter was discussed at the preliminary meeting.

"Q. It was discussed at the Imperial Conference, was it not?

"A. No, it was not discussed. The only subjects discussed were the area of occupation and the object of the occupation. The violation of the Nine Power Treaty might have been discussed at other Privy Council meetings but at this meeting the important question was the settlement of the affair.

"Q. The area involved of which you speak being KIORIN, HUKDEN, EILUNGKING and JEHOL, is that not true?

"A. Yes. At the time a discussion arose as to whether it was three provinces or four provinces.

"Q. They decided on four, did they not?

"A. Yes, they decided on four provinces to keep CHANG HSUEHLIANG from retreating to JEHOL and operating from there, it was also decided to include JEHOL."